

Conceptualising 'success' with those convicted of terrorism offences: Aims, methods and barriers to reintegration

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Abstract

Despite an increasing need to understand the aims of work with ex-prisoners convicted of terrorism offences, the knowledge base remains underdeveloped. Notwithstanding this limited theoretical and empirical foundation, practitioners in probation are increasingly faced with trying to successfully resettle these ex-prisoners. In the south of England the organisation tasked with this work is London Probation Trust’s Central Extremism Unit (CEU). Based on interviews and observational research with practitioners, this article sets out a framework for interpreting this work’s aims from a practitioner perspective. Alongside describing the thirteen primary aims of successful resettlement, the research sets out what success would ‘look like’, as well as considering some of the challenges in interpreting and promoting positive outcomes. The CEU’s model reflects a multi-modal approach, speaking both to criminogenic needs, and the primary themes of desistance. Within this, practitioners try to encourage the probationer to take control of their own life and develop an agentic approach to their present and future. It is in this way, that successful resettlement is conceptualised by practitioners working in this field. The implications of these findings for current debates over the appropriate focus of work on Countering Violent Extremism and returnees from overseas conflict are also discussed.

Key words

Terrorism, desistance, probation, ‘de-radicalisation’, Countering Violent Extremism, returning ‘foreign fighters’

Introduction

Increasing numbers of people convicted of terrorism offences are reaching the end of their prison terms and being released into the community. In the UK, they are generally released under the supervision of the probation services. The challenge faced by those tasked with ex-prisoner reintegration is how best to engage with these probationers to ensure public protection and aid successful resettlement. Academic and policy responses to this question have tended to focus on the notion of ‘de-radicalisation’, a relatively ill-defined term generally understood to signify attitudinal change indicating a shift away from support or engagement with violent extremism (Horgan, 2008). Efforts to ‘de-radicalise’ those convicted of terrorism offences are being implemented throughout the world (United Nations, 2008). However, the empirical knowledge base about the nature and impact of such efforts remains relatively weak. As such, a number of fundamental questions remain over the best method of engagement, the aims of intervention work, and by what measure we might understand success (Horgan, 2008; Monahan, 2012).

This paper examines these questions from a practice perspective and is based on research conducted with London Probation Trust’s (LPT) Central Extremism Unit (CEU) – the body tasked with managing the resettlement of those convicted of terrorism offences in

the south of England. What follows explores one of the fundamental, and largely unanswered questions central to such work, that is, how to conceptualise appropriate aims and measures of success. In setting out the goals of this work, the paper also explores some of the ways probation staff have tried to achieve these aims, alongside an account of the barriers to successful resettlement faced by this group of probationers. This paper therefore sets out the understanding and experience of those working with these probationers, who themselves are grappling with this very difficult question, as one Senior Probation Officer put it:

[Is] stepping somebody back from violent extremism to extremism - is that enough? Do you want them just not offending, is that enough? Do you want them to convert to become a Catholic? How far back do you want to go; how far is enough? [SPO3]

Although the criminal justice system in the UK has experience of those convicted of terrorism offences related to the Northern Irish conflict, in recent years, the majority of offenders charged under terrorism legislation have been associated with militant Islamism. Hence, it is this ideological context that is of primary concern to the CEU. Although there are growing challenges from right-wing violence, and animal rights extremism continues to be represented in probation practice, all but two of the 34 probationers that were, or had been, under the supervision of the CEU at the time this research was carried out were inspired by militant Islamist ideas. Hence, although there are other ideological motivations for offences treated as terrorism in the UK – and the question remains as how to best engage with those motivated by other extreme political positions – the focus here is primarily on those influenced by militant Islamism.

Based on thematic analysis of interviews with Offender Managers (OM) and Senior Probation Officers (SPO), what follows sets out a practice-based framework of aims with this group of probationers. Using Multi-Attribute Utility Technology (MAUT), an approach designed to frame evaluations of complex social phenomena, this paper outlines the main aims identified by practitioners working in this field. Discussion goes on to consider what success might ‘look like’ in this context, and outlines some of the challenges to interpreting and promoting appropriate outcomes. Given our limited knowledge about the scope and aims of work in what is a relatively new area for probation, this bottom-up approach seems most appropriate, and avoids the risk of imposing top-down conceptualisations that may misinterpret or misrepresent what supervising these probationers involves. As Maruna and colleagues note, when trying to understand what constitutes desistance in novel fields, in order to find out whether an approach “‘worked” or didn’t “work” ... [you] first had to ask what it was that the organization itself was hoping to accomplish’ (Maruna, LeBel, Mitchell & Naples, 2004, p.276). A full evaluation of the CEU’s work lies in the future – it demands a longer time frame, and access to the probationers themselves, both things that lie beyond the scope of this research. However, this paper offers the foundation for future evaluative efforts, setting out a practice-based understanding of the aims and scope of this work.

‘De-radicalisation’ and disengagement: Conceptualising effectiveness

Work with those convicted of terrorism offences is in its infancy, and we lack a clear picture of the underlying processes involved in attitudinal and behavioural change in this area. Specific problems centre on a lack of empirical data on what influences the movement towards and away from politically motivated crime; what might be important in changing relevant attitudes and behaviours; and even what the most relevant attitudes and behaviours are (Monahan, 2012; Williams & Kleinman, 2014). A core distinction, informed by the cognitive and behavioural aspects reflected in this type of offence, is that between ‘de-radicalisation’ and disengagement (Ashour, 2009; Bjørge & Horgan, 2009; Dechesne, 2011); the former associated with attitudinal change, the latter with behavioural change. Despite the distinction between attitude and behaviour, the complex ways they interact is important in interpreting how people become more or less involved in political violence. Particularly as it seems likely that change may be an uneven process, manifesting differently in ideological and behavioural domains (Ashour, 2007). Given the heterogeneity of work in this area, and the lack of conceptual clarity around the way ‘de-radicalisation’ and disengagement are used in both practice and scholarship (Horgan & Taylor, 2011), conceptualising efforts to move people away from terrorism as risk-reduction initiatives has been proposed as an alternative way of framing this work (Horgan & Braddock, 2010). However, the extent to which this is a viable and appropriate model remains an open question.

A particular challenge lies in the context specific nature of both individual processes of involvement in violence and the socio-political and organisational context within which efforts to move people away from terrorism take place. With this in mind, it seems important to take into account the specific form of militancy (e.g. nationalist, militant Islamist etc.) and the way this may shape responses to rehabilitative efforts (Monahan, 2012). Similarly, remaining aware of the differing roles individuals have within militant organisations is potentially relevant to understanding the best way of supporting desistance (Altier, Thoroughgood & Horgan, 2014; Gill & Young, 2011). Finally, the dynamic and varied reasons individuals become involved in militancy has been recognised as important in determining the most appropriate rehabilitative approach to take (Monahan, 2012). For example, those who appear more clearly motivated by a desire for group belonging, as opposed to those focused on promulgating a particular ideological position seem likely to need different approaches, something reflected in efforts to understand the range of ‘types’ of militant actor involved in political violence (Bjørge, 2011).

A further lacuna in our knowledge about disengagement from terrorism, particularly post-conviction, is the significance of the social context the individual finds himself or herself in post-release. As highlighted by the focus on distinctions between disengagement and ‘de-radicalisation’, far greater attention has been paid to the intra-personal processes associated with the move away from terrorism, than the role of the wider social and cultural context. Although work has taken account of the relevance of change agents and some programmes provide familial and some limited social support (Williams & Lindsey, 2014), the extent to which society, more widely conceptualised, is ‘ready’ to receive rehabilitated ex-militants is largely unrecognised. Even where individuals may have committed to cognitive and behavioural change, if significant barriers to re-entering the workplace, education, or even

everyday social interaction exist, the chances of long-term well being – and potentially long-term desistance – may well be diminished.

Compounding the challenges over conceptualising movement away from terrorism, the heterogeneity of individual routes in and out of violence and our limited appreciation of the wider social context, is a lack of reliable measures by which to understand and assess change in (ex)militants (Pressman, 2009; Monahan, 2012; Horgan & Braddock, 2010). More importantly, we lack a framework by which any such measures might be developed (Horgan & Altier, 2012). To take a comparative example, in work with violent offenders, effective interventions are designed to target areas empirically linked to recidivism, which are relatively stable, but capable of change, and if changed, reduce the risk of recidivism (Polaschek, 2010). However, we are some way off this stage with terrorism offenders. As Horgan and Braddock (2010) have pointed out:

Thus far, it has been practically impossible to ascertain what is implied by or expected from programs that claim to be able to de-radicalize terrorists. No such program has formally identified valid and reliable indicators of successful de-radicalization or even disengagement, whether couched in cultural, psychological, or other terms. Consequently, any attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of any such program is beset with a myriad of challenges that are as much conceptual as they are practical. (p.268)

One of the first steps in moving the field forward therefore, is to develop a better understanding of what the work is trying to achieve. Not only will this offer insight into the processes at work in engaging with those convicted of terrorism offences, it also promises a starting point for evaluating the effectiveness of any intervention. This paper therefore proceeds with two research questions in mind: 1) from a practice perspective, what are the aims of work with those who have been convicted of terrorism offences? And 2) what might success ‘look like’ with this group of probationers? Conclusions draw attention to the implications of the findings for current debates over how best to engage with those who have been, or may become involved in militancy, and what lessons there may be for those working with returnees from foreign conflicts. Before setting out the methodology, it is helpful to understand more of what the CEU does and how it has approached the challenges of engaging with those released into the community following convictions for terrorism offences.

London Probation’s Central Extremism Unit

Established in 2009, the CEU coordinates rehabilitation efforts with those convicted of terrorism offences when they are released into the community on licence. In this capacity, the CEU develops and delivers training, supports OMs, liaises with statutory and community organisations to support probationers’ reintegration and supervision – in particular via Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) – and develops interventions to encourage desistance and reduce the risk of reoffending, whilst refining best practice.

At the time of the research the CEU was a small unit, run by an SPO who oversaw the management and supervision of these probationers, and who also took a hands on role with their rehabilitation. Alongside OMs, the CEU liaised with those convicted of terrorism offences whilst they were still in prison, worked with them on release and helped to support interventions in the community. However, the day-to-day responsibility for the probationers lay with the OM, whom they meet on a weekly basis. In this way, the supervision process is much the same as with probationers convicted for non-terrorism related offences, receiving help with housing, access to education, and support gaining employment.

The main difference in the supervision of these probationers is in respect of offence-related work. These offences involve specific issues relating to political and religious attitudes believed to be influential in the commission of the offence, and the risk of reoffending. As such, OMs try and engage with these issues through one-to-one supervision. Supported by advice and training coordinated by the CEU, OMs can also draw on a tailored toolkit that offers a number of scripted interventions. The toolkit was being piloted when the research was underway, and is yet to be fully evaluated. However, anecdotally OMs reported finding it a useful way of engaging with challenging issues related to the offence. It is modular, and includes specific exercises for OMs to work through with the probationer, addressing questions around identity, autobiography and life-history, attitudes to others, victim awareness, and exploring the reasons for offending.

A second innovation the CEU employed involved working with community partners. At the time of the research, the CEU had relationships with six Muslim-led organisations working with the probationers in a mentor-like relationship. Although the groups had different models, they were all committed to helping resettle the individual successfully and worked to address some of the religious, identity and social issues faced by the probationers. Generally, the probationer worked with one person from the group, discussing a range of issues, including personal problems as well as those related to faith and religious doctrine. It is worth noting however, that central funding for many of the groups was cut very soon after this research concluded, hence the scope of the CEU's engagement with community partners has been significantly curtailed since the research began. As such, the focus here is on the probation practitioners' understanding of how to interpret the aims of work with this group, and how 'success' might be conceptualised and facilitated, alongside this, an account of some of the barriers to effective resettlement is offered; all questions which are only just beginning to be addressed in the literature.

Methodology

Analytical framework: Multi-Attribute Utility Technology

In response to the significant challenges of trying to understand the effectiveness of work with those convicted of terrorism offences, Multi-Attribute Utility Technology (MAUT) has been proposed as a way of framing evaluation efforts (Horgan & Braddock, 2010). MAUT is a holistic method for evaluating the effectiveness of social programmes, first proposed by Ward Edwards and J. Robert Newman (1982) and is considered especially

useful where experimental or 'hard' data are hard to come by. MAUT is particularly valuable for this study as it incorporates the identification of the primary aims of intervention work, something that as already discussed, is far from clear in this field. Moreover, because it breaks down programmes into constituent parts, it makes it possible to identify which approach is most appropriate for a given individual in ways that broader evaluative programmes looking at overall outcomes do not. Finally, MAUT facilitates comparative analysis. By following the same steps in different contexts, it becomes possible to compare across elements common to different programmes (Horgan & Braddock, 2010). Ultimately, MAUT allows the complex issues involved in such work to be unpicked, in order to incorporate them into an evaluatory framework. It involves a number of steps:

1. Identify the objects of evaluation and the function the evaluation is intended to perform;
2. Identify the stakeholders involved in the process;
3. Elicit from the stakeholders what the main attributes of the programme are; and
4. Identify the relative importance of these attributes and organise in a hierarchical framework.

The first three steps were used to organise and frame this research and identify a framework for understanding the aims of work with those convicted of terrorism offences. The final goal of ordering programme attributes and assigning a numerical value to each point was not carried out. In a traditional MAUT framework, this final step allows for quantitative evaluation of the various attributes, facilitating more rigorous comparison between programmes or programme outcomes. Given our limited theoretical and empirical knowledge about ex-militant rehabilitation, and the caution probation professionals displayed when identifying potential areas to prioritise, quantitatively assessing the relative importance of the various attributes identified through the research seemed premature. Moreover, it was not something that the practitioners interviewed as part of this research were confident in articulating. It therefore seemed prudent to limit the current framework to the main programme attributes. As more data are collected and the validity and reliability of the various measures identified in the study are explored, it will be important to return to this final element and assess the utility of assigning numerical values to the aims identified here. However, for now, the focus of this research is on mapping those issues that practitioners felt to be important in encouraging and assessing desistance with this group of probationers. This MAUT should therefore be considered a preliminary framework to be empirically tested and refined as this research agenda progresses.

It is worth emphasising that, as already alluded to, the aims of work with those convicted of terrorism offences were not always clearly expressed by interviewees, and most were aware of the conceptual and practical problems associated with understanding successful rehabilitation with this group of probationers. The primary reason given by participants was the novelty of the work. As one interviewee said:

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When you work with violent offenders, sexual offenders, and you see certain behaviour traits, and you think, you're not gonna make it, you are just not gonna make it through your licence. With this type of offender, you can't make those judgements, so those judgement calls are more difficult because you've not had the experience you've had with other offence types. [LPOM2]

Such uncertainty emphasises the need for further testing and refinement of the framework and the need to be cautious about the scope and application of the MAUT analysis at this early stage in the field's development.

Participants

In an effort to capture the experiences of those working with the probationers, all of the key stakeholders were identified and interviewed over a 12 month period in 2009-2010. This included all of the OMs working with those convicted of terrorism offences at the time of the research – a total of six OMs; two SPOs who supervised and oversaw the work, as well as a senior member of LPT who had overall responsibility for the CEU. These interviews were supplemented with observation of the CEU's working practices, including supervision of OMs, and training and outreach work. The researcher also attended meetings of CEU personnel and MAPPA meetings, as well as reviewing and analysing relevant organisational literature, including training and monitoring documentation. Together these different sources of data were triangulated to offer as comprehensive an overview as possible of the CEU's work to inform the development of the MAUT framework. Despite a request to interview the probationers, due to the sensitivity of the issues involved, it was not possible to speak to them; this should be a priority of any future research. To fully understand the effects and effectiveness of interventions of work in this area it is vital to learn from the probationers themselves. However, a valuable component of this research agenda is the understanding of experienced probation professionals, something the analysis below works to elucidate. To protect the identity of the participants, all verbatim quotes are anonymised using initials signifying their role, as follows: Offender Managers (LPOM) and Senior Probation Officers (SPO).

Data collection

Access to the respondents was negotiated with the CEU who introduced the researcher to the OMs and SPOs. A semi-structured interview protocol was developed which explored a range of features of the CEU's work and the practitioners' experience of working with these probationers. Particular attention was paid to how practitioners understood the aims of their work, what they believed to have been effective, and their experience of less successful approaches. All participants were given an information sheet explaining the scope of the research. This emphasised the independence of the research and, along with verbal reassurances from the researcher, aimed to mitigate any concerns that the information gained via the interviews might have an impact on the respondent's work with LPT and the CEU. Following the opportunity for respondents to ask questions, they were asked to sign a consent form explaining that their responses would be both confidential and anonymous. Their

consent to record the interviews, and for the information's subsequent use for publication was also sought. Interviews were undertaken in the offices of London Probation staff, whilst one interview with a senior member of LPT staff was conducted via telephone. At the end of the interviews, a debriefing sheet was given to the respondents, explaining that they could retrospectively withdraw from the study, and thanking them for their participation. The researcher generated transcripts of the interviews from the digital recordings.

Method of Analysis

Data from the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis. Using the six stage analytical strategy articulated by Braun and Clarke (2004), this approach facilitates a reflexive relationship between the data, the researcher's understanding of the field and the research experience. Thematic analysis therefore seeks to elucidate patterns in the data via a bottom up process that involves repeated reading of the material, the generation of initial codes and subsequent identification of themes, via a process of continual review and reflection. Finally, the primary and subordinate themes that emerged through analysis are consolidated, named and definitions generated.

Results

What follows offers firstly, a largely descriptive overview of the framework derived from the thematic analysis of the interviews, focusing on the MAUT framework, and secondly, a discussion of what success might look like with these probationers. Interestingly, and perhaps not surprisingly, a number of the themes that emerged through analysis reflect the core aims of wider probation work. Two themes were particularly prominent; those of protecting the public, and reducing the risk of reoffending/encouraging desistance. These were taken to be the two primary themes by which a range of sub-themes were organised. They are of course, intimately linked, however, the goal of public protection focuses far more on measures to manage risk via restrictive tools, whereas the second theme of reducing risk and encouraging desistance looks to develop the individual's capacity to engage constructively with the supervision process and with wider society post-licence. Displayed in Figure 1, these core themes are supplemented by a range of 13 more specific aims, identified as important in successful resettlement by practitioners.

- Figure 1 about here -

As Figure 1 illustrates, subsumed under the broad theme of protecting the public are issues such as abiding by the terms of the licence; case management via MAPPA; complying with the supervision process; and redress through recall or a warning where problems arise. The second theme incorporates ten aims that speak to two interpretations of probation work: reducing the risk of reoffending and encouraging desistance. These two conceptualisations consider rehabilitation from different perspectives. Briefly, reducing the risk of reoffending focuses on criminogenic needs, trying to plug deficits believed to contribute to an

individual's offending (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). Encouraging desistance concentrates on developing a person's strengths and realising goals (Ward & Maruna, 2007), the utility of this model has been recognised in recent literature on 'turning away from terrorism', however its applicability has yet to demonstrated empirically (Altier, Thoroughgood & Horgan, 2014). Whilst the risk and strengths-based approaches have sometimes been set in opposition to one another, more recently they have been seen as complementary, such that "the means by which risk is reduced, and by which dynamic risk factors change, is operationalized in treatment as a series of both positive capacity-building goals and risk-management goals for clients" (Polaschek, 2010, p.448). Notably, the complementarity of these two approaches was recognised by all of the respondents in this study. Some explicitly discussed the two models, whilst others referred to the principles, tensions and advantages of the differing ways of engaging with probationers. The discussion of what success 'looks like' with this population addresses these issues in a more depth below.

In what follows, a closer inspection of the two over-arching themes of protecting the public and reducing the risk of reoffending/encouraging desistance is set out, alongside their subordinate aims. Discussion specifies the aim, and the reasons it was considered important by practitioners. It is worth noting that the aims that make up this framework are influenced both by the organisational framework within which this work is situated, and by the demands of this group of probationers. It should also be noted that the aims set out in Figure 1 are not necessarily discrete, and there may well be overlap between them. Finally, whilst as comprehensive as possible, they should not be considered exhaustive. Given the relatively under-developed state of the research in this field, more empirical work is needed before it is possible to conceptualise these goals with sufficient clarity to develop a full typology of mono-dimensional constructs. What follows is therefore the first empirically derived framework for understanding appropriate outcomes for those convicted of terrorism offences, but is best considered as a first step in our developing knowledge of practice in this area.

Protecting the Public

Public protection is a statutory aim of the probation services. With those convicted of terrorism offences, case management is scrutinised very carefully via MAPPA. MAPPA work to ensure comprehensive risk assessments are carried out, and manage the resources available to protect the public and facilitate inter-agency working. Hence, complying with supervision and licence conditions, working within MAPPA, and dealing with breaches of licence are core elements of public protection and are represented in this first category. Given that these are central to all probation work, in the discussion that follows, focus is on the particular challenges associated with those convicted of terrorism offences and some of the techniques that practitioners believe to have been successful in this work.

Attend and comply with supervision process, abide by licence conditions

The requirement for the probationer to attend and comply with supervision is at the core of probation practice, and is the primary demand placed on those living in the community. It is both the most basic requirement, and can be as far as the supervision process

is able to progress, as one interviewee described it: “it comes down to 1) comply; 2) engage; and 3) complete supervision without raising obvious concerns. This is sometimes as good as it gets.” [SPO3].

As well as turning up to supervision appointments and conforming to their licence conditions, probationers must abide by six standard conditions, such as not travelling outside the UK. A further set of conditions, specific to the individual are chosen from a broader selection of potential restrictions, for example, not using computers and abiding by curfews. It is worth noting that these probationers are often subject to extremely stringent licence conditions. Although central to successful public protection, there are significant challenges associated with licence conditions that can come into conflict with more traditional probation goals. For example, the rehabilitative aim of moving people into education and employment can be a challenge, as almost all of this group of probationers are banned from using electronic equipment, something which makes it difficult to secure a job or study effectively. Similarly, finding an employer who is willing and able to accommodate strict curfews can be difficult. Managing these restrictions can also be a source of tension in the probationer-OM relationship, as one interviewee explained: “there has been a personalisation of the relationship. The offender believes it is unjust that he’s still in prison and he’s extremely negative towards supervision.” [SPO2]. These tensions between the demand for public protection and successful resettlement are explored in more detail in the discussion which follows the review of the MAUT framework.

Working within MAPPA to manage the probationer’s risk

The core mechanism by which probationers are managed in the community is MAPPA. Their primary aims are to enhance public protection through facilitating inter-agency working, information sharing and resource allocation. LPT is a key part of MAPPA, and whilst effective public protection is a central goal of all probation practice, given the range of agencies involved and the heightened threat these probationers are believed to pose, MAPPA is a particularly important mechanism in these cases. It is not without challenges however, as tensions can arise between the differing priorities of the various agencies involved. One particular issue is the contrasting organisational focus exhibited by the police and probation services. Whereas the police are more heavily guided by public protection goals, generally speaking, the probation service tries where possible to balance these with resettlement and rehabilitation goals. For example, the decision as to whether to allow a probationer to move out of approved accommodation – something that would be considered a positive rehabilitation goal – might cause tension within MAPPA over the relative threat to public safety, issues illustrated in the following quote from one OM.

Generally [multi-agency cooperation] works well, but you come up against problems, with the police ... they have a different viewpoint on things don’t they? They’re very much about restricting people, keeping people in prison, putting stringent licence conditions. It’s about control, restrict. Whereas ... it’s also about rehabilitation as well, and actually working with the offender and

resettling them, and so, I guess we come into conflict when those two different motives [meet]. [LPOM3]

Deal with breaches in licence through recall or warning

The facility to recall or issue warnings was described as an essential tool for managing risk. Recall involves the sometimes immediate return to prison of those who have breached their licence. In less serious cases, the individual may be issued a warning. In the context of terrorism offences, interviewees spoke of the more frequent use of recall. Whilst 28% of those convicted of terrorism offences were recalled, only 4% of the wider population of probationers subject to determinate sentences were recalled (Parole Board for England and Wales, 2010). Recall was understood as a tool of probation practice, working to both protect the public, and as a mechanism to motivate engagement in the supervision process. However, there can be differences between the various agencies involved over how best to conceptualise risk, as the following example illustrates:

From really pulling this person [from another agency] round to think about letting them come out, they'd been recalled. Suddenly one of the prison officers pointed out that this person had been in contact with this very dangerous man, and that was it. Just because they'd had contact, they felt that was enough, that was the sniff ... just having a bit of a sniff of something, becomes 'fire alert', you know? ... The fact that somebody's walked past with a cigarette, and it's not a fire, is not attended to, because everybody's nervous. [SPO2]

These three interlinked features of probation practice were described as central to public protection. However, as touched upon, there can be tensions between the goal of public protection and resettlement. Underpinned by the risk these probationers are deemed to pose, generally speaking public protection takes precedence, as one interviewee explained:

We're watching them for public protection, you know with MAPPA and the risk assessments ... we try and balance normalisation with that. And I think with TACT [terrorism] offenders, we have to be more on the side of public protection. [SPO3]

These tensions between public protection and rehabilitative goals were described in some detail by interviewees, the long-term effects of which are yet to be fully understood, and are issues that bring us to the second major theme of reducing the risk of reoffending and encouraging desistance, and the more rehabilitative aims these concepts encompass.

Reducing the Risk of Reoffending and Encouraging Desistance

Reducing the risk of reoffending is a core aim of the probation services, and was represented widely in the interviewees' discussion of their role and what constitutes effectiveness. There was also considerable focus on promoting individual goods, as well as addressing criminogenic needs. Aims such as encouraging probationers to develop critical

thinking skills, were considered both to be an intrinsic good that would help them move forward, and also a way of addressing issues linked to their perceived risk of reoffending.

Constructive relationship with Offender Manager

Almost all interviewees described a positive relationship between the OM and the probationer as a crucial aspect of effective engagement and one of the main vehicles for change. It was important for the probationer to trust their OM, not only to enable them to work on specific issues related to their offence in a productive manner, but also to try and break down the negative impression the probationers often had about statutory agents. Related to the aim of reintegrating the probationer into wider society, developing a positive relationship across this divide was considered an important goal. Pro-social modelling was also considered effective in this regard, as was consistency in supervision. A further element of effective supervision was clarifying roles, such that the individual understood clearly the role of the OM in their rehabilitation and supervision in the community. Conversely, a lack of progress was understood in terms of non-engagement, where the probationer attends supervision, complies in a superficial way, but does not engage with the process of rehabilitation. As one OM explained when asked about obstacles to working with one probationer:

I feel like he's quite closed, he's not being that open with me, or honest with me, and I'm not really getting a good understanding of him, and we're talking about his background, he's giving me really limited information, he's answering my questions, so he appears to be engaging in a way, but I don't feel like I'm getting to know him. [LOPM3]

Whilst interviewees were not able to clearly articulate precisely what constituted a constructive relationship, terms such as 'openness', 'engagement', 'dialogue', 'trust' and a 'lessening of tension' were common themes in their discussion. An important element of supervision therefore involved: "building up that good supervision rapport" [LOPM1]. The interpersonal relationship between the OM and probationer therefore needed to be positive, constructive and professional. Suspicion of statutory agencies, and distrust borne of the offender's experience of the criminal justice system made developing such relationships a challenge. It was therefore important for practitioners to build trust, be honest, transparent and demonstrate a commitment to the probationer.

Motivated to engage with the rehabilitation process

Developing the probationer's motivation to engage positively with the supervision and resettlement process was believed to be particularly important in trying to influence the individual positively, one OM described it in this way: "to get him motivated to look at his rehabilitation not as a burden, but as a profit, as something that he will benefit from." [LPOM4]. Related to the need for a constructive relationship between the OM and probationer, achieving sufficient motivation is particularly challenging with those convicted of terrorism offences, as their response to supervision was often described as cautious and suspicious. Motivational interviewing techniques to encourage probationers to take control of

their situation and redirect the agency and motivation implicated in their offence towards pro-social and positive ends was believed to be a helpful route forward.

Critical thinking

Developing critical thinking was raised in a number of guises by interviewees, in particular in relation to religious doctrine, foreign affairs and state practice. In this context, critical thinking skills were described as the ability to evaluate, analyse and assess information in order to come to a reasoned conclusion able to guide behaviour and inform beliefs. Constructive and critical engagement with both new information, and that which they had already assimilated, was therefore reflected as an important goal in supervision. Underpinning this goal is the assumption that probationers needed to develop resilience to the information that informed the attitudes believed to have influenced their offence. Whilst addressing issues such as consequential thinking and problem solving are relevant to work with all probationers, given the ideological element of terrorism offending, it was described as particularly important. Hence, gaining an understanding of how the probationer views information, how this colours their approach to social problems, and how it can be influenced, were reflected as important aspects of effective engagement.

Contextualised understanding of Islam

Developing a more contextualised understanding of Islam was described by OM's as important, and was a particular feature of the community interventions' approach. Linked to critical thinking, this focuses on the way religion is presented, understood and practiced. Hence, the aim is to enhance the individual's knowledge of Islam and to place it in its social, historical and doctrinal context. Given the different sects within Islam, and the varying interpretations within them, there was a perceived need to facilitate the individual's understanding of their religion, particularly as most of them demonstrated a relatively weak knowledge of Islam.

Whilst the research was ongoing, the primary mechanism by which these issues were addressed was via the community organisations and their mentors. With the loss of many of these services, it seems likely that these issues will be less clearly addressed in supervision. Although the community groups engaged robustly with some of the religious attitudes and beliefs held by the probationers, this was something that OM's were far more careful about. Only one OM engaged explicitly with religious issues, and this was with significant support from the CEU and drew on religious advice. Interestingly in this case, a product of the positive relationship the OM and probationer had developed was that they had agreed to work through a book that addressed some of the more common religious memes employed by extremist ideologues to support terrorism. The OM described the result: "He's proud now of being more knowledgeable about things [religious texts], and it's like, creating another confidence in him" [LPOM4]. Rather than focusing on trying to deconstruct the individual's beliefs, this experience reflects the importance of encouraging the probationer to achieve positive outcomes.

Balanced identity

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3 Work aiming to develop a more balanced identity, such that the single-minded
4 engagement with extremist ideology was not the sole identity with which the individual
5 identified was considered central to progress. An important aspect of this was demonstrating
6 that there was no contradiction in holding different identities, for example being British and
7 being Muslim. Scripted interventions were used to encourage the probationer to explore their
8 personal history and self-concept. Importantly, the aim was not to deconstruct the
9 individual's identity, but rather to broaden it, to encourage them to see themselves and their
10 place in the world in less dichotomous terms. As one interviewee put it:
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12

13
14 I think identity work, I think that's the key, the key ... lever, maybe. Because, I think
15 that when they were in the height of radicalisation, them being, a fighter for Islam, or
16 whatever they would want to call it, was their dominant identity. In fact it was all
17 encompassing, and what you're trying to build is a more balanced identity ... [I
18 would] talk about balancing their identities, developing multiple identities, and really
19 promoting things like the social contract, and their British identity, so it's integration,
20 integration, integration ... it's about pulling back that radical identity which took
21 them into such difficult places. [SPO2]
22
23

24 25 *Develop positive social networks and disengaging from negative networks*

26

27 An important theme in the interviews was the negative influence of others in the
28 probationer's conviction, either through their role in the actual commission of the offence, or
29 in providing ideological support. Hence, encouraging individuals to develop a positive social
30 network, not associated with either their index offence, or other offending, was a key aim of
31 intervention work. Again, this was perhaps more evident in the community interventions as
32 they were better placed to offer an adaptive social context for the probationers. Believed to
33 indicate longer-term resilience against those thought to have provided practical, social or
34 ideological support for the offence, the goal of a more constructive set of relationships with a
35 different peer group was clearly linked to successful rehabilitation in the minds of the
36 interviewees. Related to this was the need to disengage from negative networks, exemplified
37 in the probationer's licence conditions, with co-defendants and others considered likely to be
38 a negative influence included as 'non-contacts' in their licence.
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43 44 *Strengthen/repair family relationships*

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46 Positive family relationships were considered important to the extent they were able
47 to support desistance. However, family bonds are a complex factor in the resettlement of
48 those convicted of terrorism offences, as they can both decrease and increase risk, depending
49 on the attitudes and behaviour of family members. Despite this, the impact of positive family
50 relationships on the probationer's emotional well-being was considered important. The
51 following quotes demonstrate the very different impact family members may be considered
52 likely to have on the probationers:
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54

55 The family dynamics are so important ... [the probationer's] wife is very, holds very
56 militant views, kind of extreme views around Islam ... no matter what we say to him
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58
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on a weekly basis in supervision, he will return to his wife, and I do feel she will feed him these views. [LPOM2]

When you talk to him about his offence, and the repercussions, it's very much about that impact on his family, and the lack of relationship he's had, and missing out on their early part of some of his children's lives because of going to prison, and you can see, that he very much values those things in his life, which will be deterrent factors. [LPOM3]

Training, employment, education

Moving probationers into training, education or employment is a key aspect of all offender management, and was no exception with those convicted terrorism offences, as one explained:

[Whilst] our main aim is risk management with him ... Alongside that is addressing the criminogenic needs, so kind of, getting suitable move-on accommodation, employment - kind of reintegrating him. [LPOM1]

Where learning needs were identified, an important aim was getting the individual into mainstream or one-to-one education to develop their employability, and facilitate the development of critical thinking. By and large, the probationers were motivated to find work or become involved in education, with most actively looking, employed or involved in training. Associated with both the effort to provide an income and support their family, and the aim of building self-esteem and exhibiting self-determination, the search for employment took up a considerable amount of supervision time. In addition, employment was seen as a way of encouraging integration and greater social inclusion, in some cases enabling them to reflect on their offence, as one practitioner related:

He'll say: 'look at that stage, I was slightly off my trolley, you know; I was so in it [the offence], when I came home, I did think, the next day, gosh that was a bit extreme'. And [he] will say, you know: 'I go out to work, I'm a builder, I go and I work with people, I'm not gonna come home in the evening and stab them in the back, these are my people, you know?' [SPO2]

Reject legitimacy of violence/crime in response to grievance

An important goal of successful engagement was to see a change in the way the probationer felt they should respond to issues such as discrimination or foreign policy. In practical terms, this meant moving the probationer from the belief that violence or breaking the law are acceptable routes to trying to instantiate social or political change. In the words of one member of LPT:

If I achieve rehabilitation with someone, who says; 'OK, I'm against the war in Afghanistan, I'm against America, but, I keep my views for myself, and I don't commit violence, I don't kill anybody'. That's fine. [SPO1]

Again, the way this issue was addressed incorporated aspects of risk-reduction and strengths-based approaches. Specifically, the aim was to focus on 1) encouraging the probationer to adopt non-criminal methods of responding to grievance; 2) trying to develop a more critical approach to the arguments underpinning their grievances, so they can appreciate some of the complexity of the issues they are concerned with; and 3) to shift their attention away from global concerns to more local and personal ones, where the individual can make a positive contribution to their community.

Address denial and minimisation of offence

Another aspect of offence-based work focuses on efforts to reduce levels of denial. Almost all of the probationers denied their offence, as one OM put it: "I've got very few that admit their offending, or even, hold any, slight kind culpability, so it's very difficult to work with them when they're a closed book" [LPOM2]. This is not uncommon in probation practice generally, and has been described as a particular issue where the offence is built on attitudes and beliefs, for example hate crime (Dixon & Adler, 2010). There was an added dimension with this group because of the sometimes contested nature of the crime. Given the increase in terrorism legislation in recent years, a considerable number of activities that were previously legal, are now not. This impacts the perceived legitimacy of the conviction, and the associated problem of overcoming denial in order to progress with supervision. As an illustration, one probationer was convicted of an activity which, when he had carried it out the previous week, had been legal. Hence, there is a significant barrier to overcome in order to address offence-related issues, as one practitioner explained:

The crime itself is contested: [they say] we were just preaching, we were just in a training camp, and it was just, you know, like, boy scouts, outward adventure; [addressing that needs] a lot of the kind of preparation, of building legitimacy and credibility. [SPO2]

Also demonstrated in this quote is the issue of minimising the offence. Perhaps unsurprisingly, few of the probationers saw themselves as 'terrorists', particularly where their offence was on the periphery, for example, holding extremist material or protesting. As a consequence they were less inclined to engage with issues around the offence, as one OM explained: "He says *they* were terrorists, [whereas] he sees himself as someone who got mixed up and it was afterwards when he was involved" [LPOM5]. Given this, the need to engage with the individual so they accept they committed an offence, is an important and challenging aspect of successful rehabilitation and reintegration. Developing a good rapport between the OM and probationer was considered a key mechanism, as was drawing on wider probation practice, for example victim awareness work. Trying to develop an understanding of the potential impact of their behaviour on others worked to address minimisation of the offence, although this was not without challenges. For example, those who were convicted of preaching or protesting, did not recognise any victims; as one OM said: "we've done a lot of work on his offending, and about who the potential victims might be. 'Cause, I don't think he saw speeches about 'go and annihilate Americans and Britains', [as having victims]" [LPOM3].

Discussion: Understanding ‘Success’ with Terrorism Offenders

It is worth emphasising that the themes identified through this analysis of practitioner interviews are, perhaps inevitably, somewhat simplified representations of what are complex individual processes. Moreover, these aims are likely to be more or less relevant for individual probationers, and differ in their importance over the post-release period. ‘Terrorism offences’ covers a wide range of behaviours, from protesting and support activities through to the commission of violence. Hence the extent to which, for example, ideological issues are likely to be relevant differs across cases. The measures set out above are also primarily descriptive, reflecting the nascent state of the field, and the importance of progressing carefully (Horgan, 2009), building up the empirical knowledge base a step at a time.

Despite the limits on our knowledge, it is possible to draw some conclusions as to what success might ‘look like’ with these probationers. Taking the aims identified through the MAUT analysis as our starting point, and going a step further to ask how these might inform what the ultimate aims of such work are, a number of points tentatively emerge. The analysis above suggests the following to be the most relevant markers of success:

1. No reoffending – index/non-index offence;

One of the most straightforward measures is a lack of recidivism, reflecting a culmination of both public protection and reducing the risk of reoffending themes. However, it is important to note that a lack of recidivism should not automatically be taken to mean that the intervention has been influential. A range of factors may have informed why an individual has not reoffended, from family reasons to the belief they are under surveillance. Understanding what has informed the lack of reoffending is a core question for future work in this area.

2. Reintegration into civil society;

Although broad, and difficult to conceptualise clearly, successful reintegration is reflected in a number of the aims described by the interviewees. Specifically, the effort to facilitate a move into training and employment, encouraging the development of positive social networks and fostering strong family relationships. Although again, as the above analysis demonstrates, probationers can often face significant barriers in achieving these goals and the importance and viability of attaining them is likely to differ for each individual.

3. Balanced, pro-social, non-offending identity;

‘Identity work’ was considered key to successful engagement with these probationers. Encouraging a less categorical and more inclusive identity, alongside a more contextualised and less rigid approach to Islam are important parts of successful resettlement. In turn, these were related to developing critical thinking skills. As such, these were addressed both in

supervision, and sometimes more concertedly with community partners. With the loss of some of these services the scope for these issues to be addressed is inevitably diminished.

4. Alternative ways of responding to grievance.

Finally, the importance of facilitating alternative ways of addressing the social and political concerns expressed by the probationers was emphasised by practitioners. Redirection, rather than deconstruction of the motivation to bring about change was described as important, supporting probationers to find ways of pursuing goods in pro-social and legal ways.

Informed by the framework set out in Figure 1, these four distilled aims rest on two principles: accepting the legitimacy and authority of the state to proscribe particular forms of behaviour and a shift in the individual's relationship with civil society. In short an acceptance of the social contract as reflected in contemporary British society. However, achieving successful resettlement within this paradigm is challenging for this group of probationers. Reintegration into society, whilst difficult for many probationers, is particularly problematic for those convicted of terrorism offences. On the one hand, many reject the legitimacy of the secular society in which they live (Vertigans, 2009). Whilst on the other, the stigma associated with the offence can mean resettlement is hindered by a society reluctant to accept the individual, as well as the probationer's suspicion of the community in which they live (Meisenhelder, 1982).

Given the restrictions placed on these ex-prisoners, the markers of successful civil engagement are difficult for them to achieve. For example, developing a positive social network can be difficult as some probationers had become extremely suspicious of strangers, believing they could be trying to 'trap' them, or that they may unwittingly be speaking to someone considered a potential 'risk'. Similarly, entering employment was difficult because of, for example, the curfews they were subject to, or the ban on using electronic equipment. Moreover, given the risk they were deemed to pose, there were restrictions on the people they could mix with, limiting their capacity to feel part of a wider community. As such, the probationers were positioned on the periphery of society, required to (re)integrate but stripped of many of the mechanisms that might make this possible.

Interestingly, the scope of the MAUT framework demonstrates that the goals of work with those convicted of terrorism offences are drawn from two distinct paradigms. Firstly, case management is strongly rooted in the risk-management approach, with measures focusing on public protection and criminogenic needs. However alongside this, interventions also encourage desistance and work towards a more positive future for the individual, something illustrated in the following response from one OM when asked what had been effective in supervision:

When I asked him about his identity in a positive way, and he saw and acknowledged his background in a positive way. Asking about dual identity, and what makes this a good thing – he relaxed a bit then, because it was more positive. [LPOM5]

Although it is not possible to explore the theoretical implications of this hybrid approach to probationer resettlement in detail (issues that are discussed in a follow-up paper), a few observations are possible. First, that strengths-based approaches seem to offer as much promise as the more traditional ‘risk-based’ model for reducing the chances of reoffending and encouraging desistance. Given the importance of personal agency that is perhaps more clearly associated with politically motivated crime, than with ‘traditional’ offending (Horgan, 2009), this may not be that surprising. It therefore seems important to recognise the positive benefits individuals achieve by engaging in illegal political opposition and the way in which individual agency can be (re)directed towards a more positive engagement with wider society. Notions such as ‘radicalisation’ and ‘de-radicalisation’ do not seem well suited to this conceptualisation, portraying instead, a rather passive subject of indoctrination, peer influence or coercion.

Framing post-release work through the theoretical paradigms of risk- and strengths-based approaches highlights one of the challenges facing practitioners in this area, that of risk assessment. Many of the issues considered central to the risk-based model applied to more ‘traditional’ offenders are not applicable to this population, for example, issues such as substance abuse and homelessness are rarely problematic. Hence, the usual risk assessment tools and approaches to resettlement are not as relevant for these probationers, something reflected in a heavy focus in the literature on developing appropriate risk assessment measures (Pressman, 2009; Dean, 2014). LPT responded by developing alternative ways of interpreting risk, work that was ongoing when this research concluded. However, the relevance of strengths-based approaches has important implications for how we think about risk assessment. A heavy focus on risk-reduction as the primary lens through which these individuals are engaged with post-release may be missing some of the benefits strengths-based approaches offer, in particular with respect to internalising a non-offending identity and achieving positive goals that support long-term desistance (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Future work should therefore consider how ideas drawn from the strengths-based approach might be useful in interpreting how effective post-release intervention programmes have been in encouraging successful resettlement.

Support for a greater focus on strengths-based approaches can be seen in the goals identified in this paper, which focus heavily on developing intrinsic skills and abilities designed to equip the individual to reintegrate into the community. Rather than engaging in any form of explicit ‘re-education’ or ‘de-radicalisation’ programme with respect to religion or politics, there is generally an effort to develop resilience through critical thinking and challenging the individual to engage with issues in a more open-minded way. The current focus of the Countering Violent Extremism strand of US policy is at odds with this, concentrating as it does on ideological questions framed in the ‘marketplace of ideas’ (Bjelopero, 2014). Although it may not always be appropriate to conflate efforts to deflect individuals from becoming involved in terrorism and work carried out after an offence has been committed, the analysis presented above does suggest a more nuanced and holistic approach may be more beneficial. Rather than starting with the ideological claims believed to

inform offending, it is perhaps better to begin with an appreciation of the individual and their social, familial, religious and political context.

Given the heterogeneity of those who become involved in terrorism (Gill, Horgan & Deckert, 2014) it is particularly important to appreciate the differing roles ideology may play for individuals, as well as the very different types of illegal behaviour they may have been involved with. Many of the ex-prisoners the CEU works with have committed comparatively low-level offences (protest, possession of extremist material, support activities), as such, assuming any one particular issue to be common across cases seems unwise. The goals set out above are therefore perhaps best understood as a broad palette with particular issues becoming more or less pertinent for individual probationers. The more holistic, individualised approach to these ex-prisoners reflected in LPT practice raises questions about the utility of concepts such as ‘de-radicalisation’ and disengagement. Although attitudinal and behavioural issues were both addressed by practitioners, there was little evidence that these were conceptualised as discrete – albeit interacting – phenomena. Instead of trying to isolate the various factors that may inform cognitive and/or behavioural change, practitioners generally tried to approach the probationers holistically. There was an effort to understand how social, political, environmental, religious, personal issues as well as chance events influenced one another and informed a shifting set of attitudes and behaviours that ebbed and flowed over the post-release period.

Practitioners’ experience reflected in this analysis suggests that public protection, risk-focused work and desistance-oriented goals are best understood as dynamic and may demand prioritisation at different points in the probationer’s supervision. Whilst both strengths and risk-based frameworks appear to be important for successful resettlement, and although there are tensions between them, combining desistance and a risk-based approach remains a tenable model of working with those convicted of terrorism offences. LPT’s model therefore reflects a multi-modal approach, straddling the ‘what works’ and ‘what helps’ paradigms. Speaking both to criminogenic needs, and the primary themes of desistance, LPT try to encourage the probationer to take control of their own life and develop an agentic approach to their present and future. Although it is important to remember that much of what informs desistance happens away from supervision, practitioners nevertheless believed they were able to support successful resettlement in some cases. Whilst realistic about the scope of their influence, and acutely aware of the challenges of working with this group of probationers, OM’s were not without some optimism about their ability to reduce the risk of reoffending and encourage desistance. Through working to develop a positive relationship between the probationer and the OM, and trying to address a range of social, political, identity and offence-related issues, interviewees spoke warmly of the ‘success stories’. Whilst on the other hand, trying to learn from their experiences of working with those who had returned to, sometimes high profile, oppositional groups – an outcome they considered to be, generally speaking, a failure. However, the wider structural questions of how the individual might successfully resettle in the community, given the stigma and restrictions many live with, remain a challenge.

Conclusions

Returning to the question raised by one of the interviewees at the beginning of this article about the aims of work with these probationers, based on this research, there was little evidence of a desire to reconstruct the attitudes and beliefs of the probationers. Rather, work was geared towards equipping them with the practical, relational and cognitive skills to help them engage more constructively with wider society. Emphasis is therefore on encouraging the process of desistance, and moving the individual ever closer towards the aims identified above before they are released from probation's watch.

Some potentially important policy implications can be derived from the experience of probation practitioners, which speak to current debates over how best to engage with, not only those who have been convicted of terrorism offences, but also those who have returned to their home country after involvement in conflicts overseas. Most important is the need to take an individual approach, a one-size fits all model is unlikely to address the complex range of factors that inform why people become involved in militancy, and similarly, why they are likely to disengage. Equally important is to recognise the goods that people seek to pursue and the benefits they accrue when they engage in collective political violence. Understanding this allows those tasked with intervention work to identify first, the ways in which these may have actually been frustrated by more concerted involvement in violence – for example, individuals may become disillusioned because of extreme brutality or the attitudes and behaviours of fellow militants. Second, change agents may be able to find alternative, legal ways of achieving comparable goods, for example, drawing attention to the positive contribution they can make to the local community. It is in this way that community organisations are well placed to support successful resettlement, something which draws attention to the need for a holistic approach using both statutory and third sector organisations in work with this population.

Finally, given the importance of identity in the move toward and away from this type of offending, it is important for the political discourse to reflect appropriate identity boundaries. That is, boundaries that include, rather than exclude those who have been involved in militancy. Without this, even where (ex)militants are motivated to move away from terrorism, the scope for them to see a positive future as part of society is likely to be attenuated, and with it, the possibility of long-term desistance may well diminish. Debates in the United Kingdom over whether those returning from Syria and Iraq should be barred from re-entry except under strict conditions is a stark example of such potentially counterproductive exclusionary discourse. If the aim is long-term resettlement and desistance from terrorism, the earlier the individual can begin the reintegration process – where appropriate, after they have been prosecuted and sentenced for their crimes – the better. Barring people from 'coming home' not only delays this process, but puts them at greater risk in a conflict zone, and increases the chances they will return to the militant networks of which they were a part.

Whilst the framework derived from this research has been developed from first hand accounts of those working with people convicted of terrorism offences, and hence may be considered a robust representation of the aims of this work from a practitioner perspective, it is important to recognise its limitations. Firstly, the empirical relationship between those

factors identified through the research and a reduction in risk of reoffending have yet to be demonstrated. Hopefully, this research offers an empirically derived starting point from which to develop an evidence-based understanding of the rehabilitation process.

Secondly, although these measures are developed from the insights of some the most experienced practitioners in this area, it is worth noting that given the lack of experience of work with this group of probationers, there may be an understandable reliance on traditional models of engagement, which in time, may not prove to be the most effective in this field. Thirdly, and perhaps the greatest weakness of the research, is that the framework was developed without reference to the probationers and their experience. Any future exploration of the model should be carried out incorporating their experience and perspectives. Also, as already mentioned, the 13 aims set out above are unlikely to be a complete list of features that demonstrate change, further work is needed to build on these concepts and develop a more complete model of this work.

Finally, and as alluded to above, there are interesting tensions between the aims presented here, which would benefit from further exploration. For example, effective control of restrictive licence conditions (a sign of successful public protection), could preclude the individual moving into employment, or re-establishing links with family members (a negative sign of effective resettlement). However, the concept of a society or community willing to accept the individual remains a significant barrier to genuine resettlement. Practitioners regularly face these challenges in working with those convicted of terrorism offences. A greater understanding of how to address such issues, and how individual probationers may experience the process of resettlement may help ease some of these tensions and further develop our understanding of what genuinely successful resettlement with this population implies.

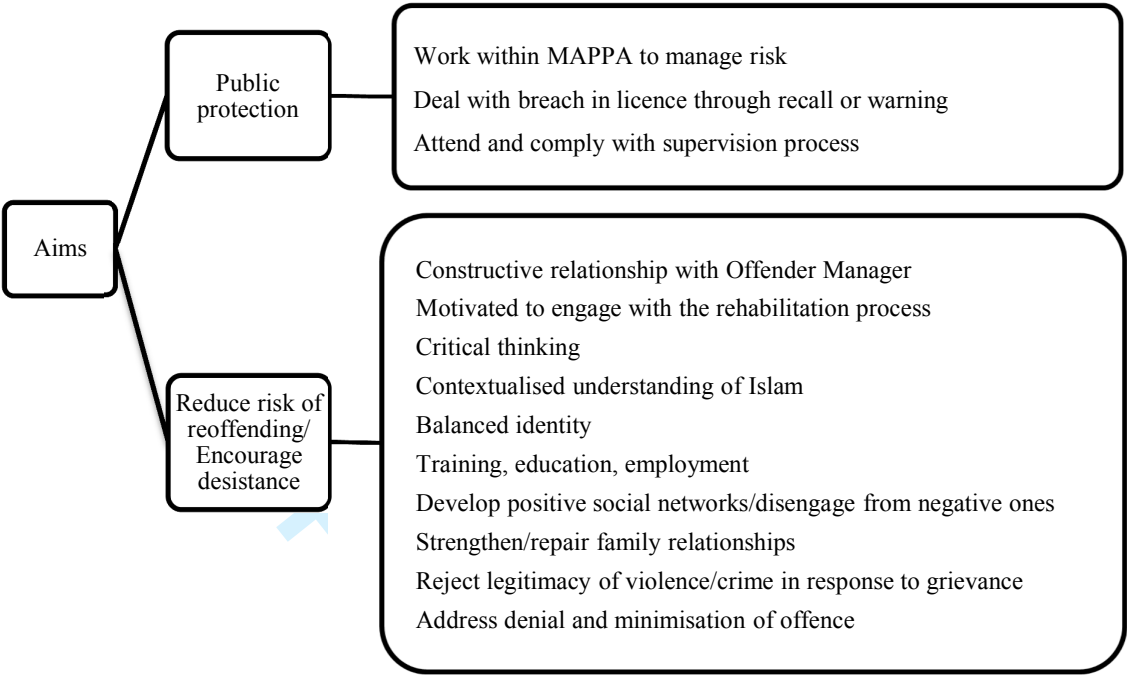


Figure 1: Framework of aims for terrorism offender management

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